1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

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It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

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In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tasherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 618 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Instead of adultery being regarded as
577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy my-
837 self on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges *his wife to another.*
775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot. 835

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursiitpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursiitpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life. 836 851 848 626

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as 131 831

582 601 618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɭjoɪɭ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɭjoɪɭ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across mod divisions, and divides the toɪrðas at present into five exogamous sets of poɭjoɪɭ, the töŭviɭj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how mod-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɭjoɪɭ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

582 ● 835 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own mod and outside of his poɭjoɪɭ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is ŭudmortkvæɪdvoj, "one who is born to one and the same mod" or poɭjoɪɭ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

618 wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this
539 poɭjoɪɭ are forbidden to become poɭoɪɭ to this tiɪ. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the moγðɯtkoɪt ʃvojvoɭjoɪɭ of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a
[522] tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the kɯɯdzɯl, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the poɭjoɪɭ should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

602 A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse
835 between ɯɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and poɭjoɪɭ of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's mod), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as ɯɯdmortkvæɪdvoj) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his poɭjoɪɭ or his ɯɯdmortkvæɪdvoj). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the noɪjm or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

602 Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same tuɲ or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

1 [See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539 — Analyst]

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

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noḷkʊnɯsk	sydj-mil-sydj	pʊɲtɯθik		
poḷjoɰ-xoɪrjm	oɪtoɰ-foɲt	öštjɯɖoɪ	ɯɖɯθik	
om arjeɲ	enk öštoθ	sotj-moɪɖkin	ɯɖɯθuing	noɪrɲɯsfʊm

"You sent message after message to the mund omgoɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poḷjoɰ.' Noɪrɲɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poḷjoɰ, oɪtoɰ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poɲt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poḷjoɰ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[22] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɰ-foɲt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noɪrɲɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poḷjoɰ, is to be explained.

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On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poḷjoɰ, oɪtoɰ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poḷjoɰ, oɪtoɰ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

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It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪrɲɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[22] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

12;Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the to:ṭjfoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuːr (Siriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister eʒoŋ (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's to:ṭjfoj-oṛ. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Makniːr (Makner), wife of tulkiːṛ of the noːṛ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tööfuru (Tevö), looked like his mother's to:ṭjfoj-oṛ, nobuṛ of the piːṭoːṛ patrilineal sib (Naburs, 64), also called kwṭj (he reared the children after tulkiːṛ died). In a quarrel tööfuru might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobuṛ-moṛ "son of nobuṛ" or kwṭj-moṛ "son of kwṭj," or as nobuṛ or kwṭj.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Chāmarājnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannaḍa language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇiśa Daṇḍanāyaka, of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana (Biṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dēvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeevaram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between [582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls 584 being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be 584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, [766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-178 spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

them to do this they would a) continue when adult, b) spoil their health by doing so. The method for overcoming the "evil" is to administer *tworkh* on the genitals, as on the buttocks for insanitary lapses. (Incidentally Ersigwuf admitted that she also made use of these nettles on the mouths of her children when they bit her, and on their fingers, when they pinched her and pulled her hair.) Masturbation, as a result, is less intensive, but does, all the same, continue, she said, until the fourth year. Then there is a period of calm (latency?) until the twelfth year.

My interpreter here put in his own version. He said that Erzigwuf was not telling the truth, and that he had observed other things with his own children. They carried on with masturbation until the ninth year inclusive, and what was apparently latency, thus lasted for only three years. He also mentioned that in his day the punishments employed were much more drastic. A horrible one that he remembers consisted of having the wrists tied behind the back, the cloak fastened tightly over arms and legs and to be put, thus trussed up, at the entrance to the buffalo pen when the animals rushed out either in the morning or in the evening. It was here that Kanvarsathi told me that Pangur, the adult son of the Teivilkh chieftain Piliar of Kuur *mad*, had never really given up masturbating because, in his opinion, he had been too repressed in his activity as a child and had thus never grown out of the habit.

Premarital relations between young people after puberty are not discouraged with the Todas, provided they take place within the permissibe marital rules of the tribe, i.e. outside the *polkhliol* and *modol*, but within the moiety. Thus, premarital relations with a *matchuni* are considered quite normal, and should a child result from them, there is no harm done, as, officially, they are not premarital realations at all, but those of a wedded couple, even if the marriage took place in very early childhood.

I asked Erzigwuf if Pershrörsh, the eldest boy, who had attained the age of puberty, had any relations with girls, and her answer was that he probably had, as he was most of the time away from Melgarsh and she could not get him to stay, although she had asked him to, since Mutnarsh was very busy in the Botanical Gardens. Narjilkh, she said, was too young for such things, and Pengelam also, although the latter, a girl, would be watched more as she grew older.

Three days after the family had entered the *puzharsh*, I went to see them come out and return to the *mad*. I noticed that of the two newborn twins, the boy looked very sick, while the girl was strong and healthy. In order to keep the little one alive, and because Erzigwuf was